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ACTION AF-01

INFO LOG-00 CIAE-00 C-01 OASY-00 DODE-00 DOEE-00 EUR-01
HA-09 H-01 TEDE-00 INR-00 IO-16 L-01 ADS-00
NSAE-00 NSCE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-01 PRS-01
P-01 SNP-00 SP-00 SS-00 TRSE-00 T-00 USIE-00
RPE-01 /038W
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O 301653Z DEC 93
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5408
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE PRIORITY
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 KIGALI 04655

YAOUNDE FOR DATT

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PGOV, PINR, RW
SUBJECT: TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS: MANEUVERING
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CONTINUES

REF: KIGALI 4612

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY. KIGALI REMAINS ON STAND-BY FOR THE CEREMONIES INSTALLING TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS. HOPES FOR THIS YEAR, HOWEVER, MAY HAVE BEEN DASHED. THE PRESIDENT HAS REPORTEDLY REJECTED LIST OF MINISTERS SUBMITTED TO HIM BY PRIME MINISTER DESIGNATE, FAUSTIN

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TWAGIRAMUNGU WHO IS IN THE PROCESS OF STUDYING THE MATTER WITH RPF PRESIDENT KANYARENGWE. PEACE ACCORD PROVIDES APPOINTMENTS TAKE EFFECT AFTER THREE DAYS EVEN WITHOUT PRESIDENT'S BLESSING. THE RPF HAS REQUESTED TO CALL ON CHARGE AS SOON AS UNAMIR ESCORT CAN BE ARRANGED. END SUMMARY.

PRESIDENT REJECTS MINISTERIAL LIST

3. STAND-OFF. VILLAGE URWUGWIRO, WHERE BOTH THE PRESIDENT AND THE PRIME MINISTER DESIGNATE HAVE OFFICES, IS BUZZING WITH POLITICAL ACTIVITY LATE 12/30. THE SCENE DESCRIBED TO CHARGE HAS THE PRESIDENT IN HIS VILLA WELL PROTECTED BY HIS PRESIDENTIAL GUARD AND THE PRIME MINISTER DESIGNATE, FAUSTIN TWAGIRAMUNGU, IN HIS OFFICE CONSULTING WITH RPF PRESIDENT KANYARENGWE, WHO IS PROTECTED BY HIS RPF BODYGUARDS. OTHER PARTY LEADER SUPPORTIVE OF TWAGIRAMUNGU ARE EXPECTED TO JOIN HIM TO DELIBERATE WHAT TO DO NEXT.

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4. REJECTION. PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA HAS REPORTEDLY REJECTED THE LIST OF MINISTERS TWAGIRAMUNGU PRESENTED TO HIM EVENING OF 12/29. SOURCES SAY HE REFUSED TO SWEAR-IN MINISTERS UNLESS THE PARTIES ARE UNITED ON THEIR CHOICES. THE LIST, ACCORDING TO SEVERAL SOURCES, INCLUDED NAMES ONLY FROM THE MDR/TWAGIRAMUNGU AND FROM THE PL/LANDO Factions OF THEIR RESPECTIVE PARTIES. SOURCES CLAIM TWAGIRAMUNGU MAY ALSO HAVE DROPPED OFF TWO MRND NAMES.

THE NAMES PRESENTED...AND REJECTED

5. TWAGIRAMUNGU'S LIST. THE TWAGIRAMUNGU LIST WOULD HAVE FOR THE MDR AGATHE UWILINGIMANA RETURN TO THE MINISTRY OF PRIMARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION, FAUSTIN RUCUGOZA REMAIN AT INFORMATION, AMD JEAN-MARIE VIANNEY MBONIMPA SHIFT TO THE FOREIGN MINISTRY FROM PRIMARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION. (CURRENT FOREIGN MINISTER ANASTASE GASANA WOULD BECOME DIRECTOR OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S CABINET.) NONE OF THESE NAMES COINCIDE WITH THOSE PRESENTED BY THE MDR POLITICAL BUREAU ON BEHALF OF THE OPPOSING WING OF THE PARTY. THE PL/LANDO FACTION PROPOSAL INCLUDES TWO OF THE

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THREE NAMES SUBMITTED BY MUGENZI, BUT IT WOULD HAVE
AGNES NTAMABYARIRO RETURN TO THE MINISTRY OF COMMERCE
INSTEAD OF STAY AT JUSTICE, AND IT DOES NOT/NOT
INCLUDE MUGENZI. SOURCES TELL US THAT TWAGIRAMUNGU
MAY HAVE REJECTED TWO NAMES PRESENTED BY THE MRND,
NAMELY FERDINAND NAHIMANA NAMED TO HIGHER EDUCATION
AMD AUGUSTIN BIZIMANA, INCUMBENT PRESENTED FOR
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MINISTER OF DEFENSE.

6. MDR MODERATES LOSE. TWAGIRAMUNGU RECEIVED BUT APPARENTLY REJECTED THE LIST SUBMITTED TO HIM BY THE MDR POLITICAL BUREAU ON GROUNDS THEY WERE ALL HIS "DETRACTORS." FORMER FOREIGN MINISTER BONIFACE NGULINZIRA TELEPHONED CHARGE MIDDAY 12/30 TO ARGUE IN FAVOR OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU LIST, CALLING IT A VICTORY FOR THE MODERATES (REFTEL) OVER THE HARDLINERS. NGULINZIRA SAID HARDLINERS MUREGO AND KARAMIRA HAD OBJECTED STRENUOUSLY TO PROPOSING HIM, NGULINZIRA, AS FOR FOREIGN MINISTER, BUT HE HAD PREVAILED. HE SAID THIS SHOWING STRONGLY SUGGESTED

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ONE OR BOTH OF THESE HARDLINERS WOULD BE OUSTED FROM THE PARTY LEADERSHIP AT THE FORTHCOMING PARTY CONGRESS. HE EXPRESSED CONCERN, HOWEVER, THAT TWAGIRAMUNGU MIGHT FORCE THE INITIATIVE BACK TO THE HARDLINERS.

7. LISTS BECOME PUBLIC. ALTHOUGH TWAGIRAMUNGU'S LIST OF PROPOSED MINISTERS WAS REPORTEDLY HAND-CARRIED TO THE PRESIDENT BY HIS CABINET DIRECTOR RUHIGIRA, RADIO RTLM (PRO-MRND/CDR) ANNOUNCED THESE NAMES AND THOSE OF THE OPPOSING FACTIONS MORNING OF 12/30. SUBSEQUENT NEGATIVE REACTIONS FROM MUGENZI AND HIS SUPPORTERS AND FROM TWAGIRAMUNGU'S MDR OPPONENTS MAY HAVE GIVEN THE PRESIDENT JUSTIFICATION FOR REJECTING THE LIST.

DEPUTY LISTS

8. THE STATUS OF PARTY LISTS OF DEPUTIES IS UNCLEAR. WE KNOW TWAGIRAMUNGU TRANSMITTED TO THE

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CONSTITUTIONAL COURT 12/29 LISTS FOR HIS MDR CHOICES, AND FOR PL/LANDO, PSD, AND PDC. THEY ACCCOMPANIED A LETTER LAYING OUT A STRATEGY WHEREBY THE CONSTITUTIONAL COURT WOULD RULE ON THE LEGALITY OF THE LISTS BEFORE TRANSMITTING THEM TO THE PRESIDENT. IT IS UNLIKELY OPPOSING FACTIONS HAVE ACCEPTED THIS PROPOSED PROCEDURE.

PRESIDENTIAL OATH

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9. SOURCES AT THE CONSTITUTIONAL COURT REPORT THAT PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA HAS ADVISED THE PRESIDENT OF THE COURT THAT HE WILL TAKE THE OATH OF OFFICE, AS STIPULATED IN THE ARUSHA PEACE ACCORD. OTHER SOURCES CONTRADICT THIS, LEAVING THIS MATTER PENDING.

RPF PLANS TO CALL

10. RPF LIAISON OFFICER COL. KAREKE KARENZI TELEPHONED 12/29 TO REQUEST AN APPOINTMENT WITH CHARGE FOR PASTEUR BIZIMUNGU, RPF MINISTER-DESIGNATE FOR INTERIOR AND COMMUNAL AFFAIRS. HE SAID BIZIMUNGU WANTED TO CALL ON THE U.S. AND BELGIAN EMBASSIES AS SOON AS UNAMIR ESCORTS COULD BE ARRANGED. WE ARE AWAITING CONFIRMATION OF THE MEETING. WE SUGGESTED BIZIMUNGU MIGHT WANT TO CALL ON THE FRENCH AS WELL.

COMMENT

11. IT IS OUR UNDERSTANDING THAT, ACCORDING TO THE ACCORD, IF THE PRESIDENT FAILS TO APPOINT THE PERSONS PRESENTED HIM BY THE PRIME MINISTER DESIGNATE WITHIN THREE DAYS, THE APPOINTMENTS AUTOMATICALLY TAKE EFFECT. THE SWEARING-IN CAN THEN PROCEED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL COURT. IF THIS COURSE IS FOLLOWED, THE INSTALLATION WOULD BE PUT OFF UNTIL AT LEAST SUNDAY, JANUARY 2.

12. THE INTENSITY OF THE POLITICAL MANEUVERING REFLECTS THE MAGNITUDE OF THE STAKES, WHICH ARE THE SAME NOW AS AT THE POWER-SHARING TALKS IN ARUSHA THIS
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TIME LAST YEAR. IT ALL BOILS DOWN TO HOW MANY SEATS
THE VARIOUS TENDENCIES CAN EXPECT TO CONTROL IN THE
CABINET AND WHETHER THEY WILL BE ABLE TO MUSTER A
BLOCKING ONE-THIRD PLUS ONE ON ISSUES THEY OPPOSE.
IN THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, THE FIGHT, WHICH IS TAKING
A BACK SEAT FOR THE MOMENT, IS ABOUT WHETHER THE
PRESIDENT'S OPPONENTS COULD, IF THEY CHOSE, WIN A
VOTE OF NO CONFIDENCE AGAINST THE PRESIDENT TO START
IMPEACHMENT PROCEEDINGS. EVEN IN ELEVENTH HOUR
MANEUVERING, NEITHER SIDE IS OFFERING ANY OLIVE
BRANCHES TO OPPONENTS.

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13. TWAGIRAMUNGU MAY HAVE MISSED AN IMPORTANT CHANCE TO BEGIN TO BRIDGE THE GAP BETWEEN THE TWO MDR Factions BY NOT PICKING UP NGULINZIRA FOR FOREIGN MINISTER FROM THE MDR POLITICAL BUREAU LIST IN PLACE OF MBONIMPA. HE COULD HAVE BROUGHT A STRONG MDR "MODERATE" INTO THE CABINET, ONE COMMITTED TO THE PEACE PROCESS, WITHOUT HIM APPEARING TO HAVE MADE A SEPARATE PEACE AND THUS BEING TAINTED IN THE EYES OF HIS MDR FACTION. THIS COULD HAVE HELPED STRENGTHEN THE MODERATES, WHO APPEAR TO BE MAKING HEADWAY, AND MADE IT EASIER FOR FORMER PRIME MINISTER NSENGIYAREMYE TO COLLABORATE WITH TWAGIRAMUNGU.

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